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THE INTEREST OF THE Three Kingdom's,

With reſpect to the Buſineſs of the

Black Box,

And all the other

PRETENTIONS

Of his Grace the Duke of

MONMOUTH,

Diſcuſs'd and Aſſerted;

In a Letter to a Friend.

The *Second Impreſſion*; with large Additions, upon the Subject of the *Black Box*.

LONDON,

Printed for *James Vade*, at the *Cock* and *Sugar Loaf* near St. *Dunſtans-Church* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1680.

THE INTEREST OF THE THREE KINGDOMS.

With respect to the Business of the

Black Box, &c.

SIR,

§. 1. IT is not the particular Case of your Friend only, but of a great many (otherwise) Worthy and Eminent Persons, to be mis-led, and intoxicated, by the plausible pretence of a *Free Estate*, into a passionate Fondness, and Admiration of a *Popular Government*; never distinguishing betwixt the *Form* and *Essence* of a *Commonwealth*; the mistake whereof (each for the other) has prov'd so fatal in this Age; nor calling to mind that it was the misfortune of those that surfeited of our *Kingly Regiment*, and gap'd as impatiently after *Novelty* as any now adays can do; to lose the substance of *Liberty* and *Happiness*, in persute of the *Shadow*. Nay, and too too many (believe me Sir) there are also, that, sacrificing all considerations of *Conscience* and *Religion* to their *Mammon* Interest, do labour with all the Vigour and Artifice imaginable, to create in the *Multitude* a loathing of their present *Manna*, and a fresh longing for their late *Aegyptian Leeks* and *Garlick*. So that you are not to look upon my Endeavours to set things aright, as to this Point, to

be the pure Effects of my Compliance with your *Deſires* for the ſatisfaction of your *Friend*, but rather of a preſſing and indiſpenſable *Duty*.

Neither your *Friend*, nor any other *Republican* will, I preſume, maintain that a *Free Eſtate* (as they call it) is not ſubject to any Violations; becauſe woful Experience will confute, and force them to confeſs either that a *Commonwealth* may *Degenerate*; or, at leaſt, that the ſo much cry'd up Model of the *Late times* was no *Commonwealth*: And they muſt not only renounce their *Senſes*, but even the *Faith* of *Story* alſo, which ſufficiently proves that *Republicks* have been *ſometimes* invaded with *Uſurpations*; *ſometimes* debauch'd and embas'd with *Oligarchy*; *moſtly* (by reaſon of their Weakneſs and Diviſions) *ſubdu'd* or Compell'd to truckle under their *Neighbouring Princes*; but *always* tormented with *Faction* and *Convulſions*. Nor in truth, has that *Party* as yet been able to produce any *Arguments* but ſuch, as in effect, beg the *Queſtion*; by preſuppoſing great *Unity* in the *Coalition*, great *Probity* in the *Intention*, and great *Purity* in the *Exerciſe*; which being admitted, we ſhould ſo little need to differ about *Forms*, that perhaps we ſhould ſcarce need any *Government at all*.

As for my ſelf, Sir, I ever abhorred *Bloodſhed*, and do deem *one* Party in all *Wars* guilty of *Murther*; a Crime which as it cryes *High* for *Vengeance*, ſo ought it to cry *Lowd* for *Unity* and *Moderation*; into which bleſſed Path may *This* ballance us, that we be not again *Balotted* into a *Field* of *Blood*: I plead for *Liberty*; not the *Name*, but the *Thing*; and deſign not to aſſert *Tyranny*, but *Kingſhip*; (as it relates to the *Laws* of the *Land*) to whoſe protection I am entitled by my *Birth*, for the preſervation of my *Freedom* in *Perſon* and *Eſtate*; and that with more aſſurance, than poſſibly can be ſecur'd under the *Government* of *Many*, who ſcruple not commonly to term that *Juſtice* (and without *Remedy* too) which is *down right Faction*.

So

So that with theſe thoughts about me I ſhall readily acknowledge (you may imagine) that even *Monarchy* it ſelf is but as *Earthen Ware*, (though of the *fineſt* and *ſtrongeſt Sort*) and liable to ſundry *Contingences*; *nothing under the Heavens being completely Perfect.* In the Conſtitution of *Governments*, 'tis childiſh to think upon erecting of *Babels* againſt a *Deluge*; but the *Deſign* muſt be to *embank* againſt *Floods*, and *encloſe* the beſt that may be againſt *Treſpaſſers*. This being premiſed, I ſhall proceed to handle the *Matter* in queſtion, not *Metaphyſically*, in *Notions* abſtracted from their *Subjects* (a Paſtime which our *Platonicks* much delight in) but *Morally* and *Reaſonably*; and enforce ſuch *Arguments* only as are *plain*, *ſenſible*, and *appropriate* to our own *Countrey*; leaving the *Notional* to our *Book-men*, whoſe *Volumes*, calculated for all *Climates*, ſwell big againſt the *Evils* of the *Rule* of MANY, or *Democracy*. Neither ſhall I preſume to inſiſt upon any ſuch inſuperable difficulties, as are of a quality too high for a private Pen to meddle with, muſt neceſſarily obviate the eſtabliſhing of a *popular Platform* amongſt us; but lay before you in the *Firſt* place, the preſent State of the Nation, ſo Far forth only as may carry any immediate Relation to the *Subject*; and then draw all to an *Application*.

§ 2. THIS *Iſland*, now, is a large Continent, abundantly populous; and govern'd (I may ſay) by the Subordinate Influence of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; who live plentifully, and at eaſe upon their *Rents*, extracted from the Toyle of their *Tenants* and *Servants*; every one of of them Acting the *Prince* within the Bounds of his own *Eſtate*, where he is in a manner *Abſolute*. His *Servants* and *Labourers* are as *Vaſſals*, his *Tenants* indeed are *Free*, but yet in the Nature of *Subjects*; whom he orders in his *Courts*, draws Supplys from by his *Fines*, and Awes by his *Power* and *Oaths* of *Fealty*, to great Submiſſions. The more his *Mannors* are, and the more indulgently he behaves

behaves himſelf (like a good *Prince*) the larger is his *Territory*, and the more awful are his *Commands*. A *Rich* and *Potent* Neighbour gives Check to an *Inferiour*; *He* again being over-ruled by one that is more conſiderable than himſelf. But yet none of theſe, with reſpect to his *Quality* and *Eſtate*, will admit of a *Parity* with a *meaner Neighbour*, much leſs with his *Tenant* or *Dependent*.

Into the Rank of *Gentry* do our *Officers*, *Citizens*, and *Burghers* aſpire to be enroll'd: So that no ſooner by *Arms*, *Office*, or *Trade*, do they acquire a competent *Stock*, but forthwith for *Land* it is diſpos'd; and then, diſowning the Title of *Soldiers*, *Citizens*, or *Burghers*, they take to themſelves the Degree and Name of *Gentlemen*, with *Arms* not improper; for *England* within it ſelf, has been ſo often ſhuffled from *High* to *Low*, that there is ſcarce any *Artificer* but may find his Name in the *Heralds-Book*, though not his *Pedigree*, which *Ingenuity* yet and *Good Will* may eaſily ſupply; and thus being Equipt with a *Title* and *Eſtate*, they ſet up ſuitably the *Dominion* within their *Territories*; which none do diſpute, as having no right to intermeddle with what a man *has* or *does* within himſelf: For by *Gentry* I underſtand not ſuch only as are ſo in *Blood*, but in *Quality* alſo; ſuch as live eaſily and like *Princes*, upon the Labours of their *Dependents*.

Out of This *Order* are uſually conſtituted our *Sheriffs*, *Juſtices* of the *Peace &c.* By the countenance of which Authorities they ſo order all *Elections* to *Parliament*, or *otherwiſe*, that the *Countys* Commonly follow their reſpective *Factions*, and the *Commonalty* in their *Votes* are manag'd by *Them*, as a Horſe by his Rider. Now as the *Agrarian* or *Intereſt* of *Land*, is principally in theſe Two *Ranks*; So alſo is the Conſequence thereof, *Power* and *Command*; which emboldens them to ſuch a Height of *Spirit* (natural to our *Nobility* and *Gentry*) that they are too apt to undervalue Perſons of Inferiour Condition, [*Burgeſſes* and *Mechanicks*,] with whom to *Inter-*

marry

marry, by our *Old Law* was a *Diſparagement* for a *Ward*; and this *Spirit* of *Generoſity* is not to be ſuppreſt, ſo riveted is it in their *Natures*, but by the Eradication of their *Qualities* at leaſt, if not their *Perſons*.

And indeed the eſtabliſhing of a *Free Eſtate* (ſo call'd) were otherwiſe *Deſperate* and *Impracticable*; (which the prevailing *Mecanicks* among the *Swiſſes*, ſoon found to be true) It being of the very *Eſſence* of a Common-wealth, to reduce all *Degrees* to a *Parity*. For as *Titles* and *Honours* are incident to *King-ſhip*; ſo alſo are *Equality* of *Place*, and *Birth*, to *Democracy*; unleſs where, in caſe of *Office*, for the *Time* only, they are entitled to a *Precedency*. Reduced you muſt be, Sir, to the Condition of the *Vulgar*; for though you are already ſtiled *Commoners*, yet that is only a *Fallacy* of the *Name*, and deludes our *Statiſts*; you being ſuch, no otherwiſe than *Repreſentatively*, and rather the managers of the *Peoples purſe*, than purely *Commons*. Neither yet would the bare procuring of ſuch a *Parity* be ſufficient to do your *Friend*'s Buſineſs; unleſs he could alſo get a *Supreme Power* eſtabliſh'd in ſome ſuch *Body Corporate*, Compacted and Permanent, as, by reducing of divers meet Cities, Forts, and Caſtles, under its Command as the Head Colony, might give Law to the ſeveral Countries, and mould them into a Vaſſalage competent to make up a free Eſtate: But this you know is as well impious, as upon ten thouſand accounts impoſſible to be effected. Nay, and though this point were alſo obtainable, yet would not our *Nobility* and *Gentry* have either the *Honour* of the *Name*, or *Benefit* of the *Thing*; nor would it be inſtiled the *Common-wealth* of *England*, but of that particular place that ſhould ſo uſurp upon the reſt of the *Nation*; and then too our pay muſt be as *they* impoſe, our *Liberty* as they vouchſafe it, and we ſubject to our Inferiors.

Nor is this Diſcourſe to be lookt upon as meer *Drollery*; for from This *Embrio* have iſſued thoſe *Common-wealths* which are ſo fam'd in *Notion*; as *Rome*, *Carthage*,

Athens, *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, *Thebes*, &c. Great *Cities* of that Name, which, having ſubdu'd the adjacent *Territories*, denominated the *Dominion*; wherein only thoſe of the *Freedom* (*Citizens* and *Denizens*) had *Vote* or *Power*; the *Nobles* and *Gentlemen* being purely *Tributary* to the *Chief City*; unleſs they tranſplanted themſelves, renounc'd their *Cities*, and ſo, by degrees, advanc'd into the *Honour* of a *Burgeſs*; as we now do exerciſe our *Junior* iſſue. And little different are at this day the celebrated *Common-wealths* of *Venice*, the *United Provinces*, the *Swiſſes*; not to inſtance in thoſe *Petty States* of *Genoua*, *Raguſa*, *Geneva*, &c. All of them moſtly denominated from thoſe *Principal Cities*, which give Law to the adjacent *Provinces*. Thoſe indeed of the *Hollanders* and *Switzers*, tho' they derive not, ſo directly, their *Title* from *One City*, yet are they (in *Subſtance*) of the ſame *Compoſure*; being only an *United Body* of Corporated *Cities*, combin'd in *One*, for *Mutual Defence* againſt *Invaders*, but of an *equal Power* to impoſe upon the Neighbouring *Territories*, ſituate under the aw of each reſpective *City*, or *Town-Garriſon*. It falls not within my Memory, that there ever was, or at This Day is, a *Free-Eſtate* in the whole World, that's manag'd by the *Gentry* Inhabiting at large, or by any People not combin'd within the *Juriſdiction* of their Walls; except the *Griſons*; who are a ſcatter'd People of a mean *Quality*, having long ſince diſown'd their *Gentry*; and are without *Walled Towns* or *Garriſon*, whoſe Confuſions make them eaſie for Conqueſt, were their Country worth it, and not ſecur'd by the *United Cantons*.

But to apply the *Premiſes*; can your *Friend*, or any other Man of the ſame *Stamp* imagine, that our *Nobility* and *Gentry* (as now in Power) will ever be induc'd to admit a *Parity*; will level their *Degree* and *Domination* to a Proportion with their *Coppy-holders*? Nay, will renounce the *wearing* of a *Sword*, and learn to *make* one?

Will

Will ſubmit to become *Tributary* to the *Neighbour-Colony*? If this can be brought about; then perhaps (and not till then) may we again hope to aſpire from our preſent Glorious *State* of *King-ſhip*, to a *Free-ſtate* in *Clown-ſhip*; or at leaſt, from the *Free-giving* of *Subſidies*, to the *Majeſty* of a *Scepter*; to the *Forced-payment* of Tribute to the *High* and *Mighty Burgher*; ſuch as was that *High and Mighty Butcher*, who, not many years ago was commiſſioned by the *Swiſſes*, as one of their *Chiefs* to be *God-Father* to the *French Kings* Son. Now as *Plato* phanſi'd his *Community*, and Sir *Thomas Moor* his *Utopia*; ſo are ſome of *theſe* big with hopes of a Rotation; thereby to reaſſume their Idoliz'd *Model* of a *Commonwealth*, out of the ſcatter'd *Gentry*, in the nature of a *Houſe of Commons*. But ſince nothing but new *Experiments* will ſerve ſuch mens Turns, I could wiſh they would find other Subjects to try Concluſions upon, than the *Eſtates*, *Lives*, nay, the very *Souls* of *Chriſtians*. You well remember I'me ſure, Sir, that we once ran the *Loſs* of *Thoſe*, and the *Hazzard* of *Theſe*, upon the cloudy proſpect of a *Chimæra* in the *Brains* of ſome: The word *Liberty* deluded us into *Patience*, and patience from 1648. 1660. brought forth not leſs *Payments*, but more *Servitude*. And let them not hope to bring Countenance to their *Cauſe*, by alledging (as they have once done) that they could never be permitted to to foſter up their *Babe* to full perfection; for they will ever be oppoſed by all *Wiſe* and *Loyal* men, who having experimented the *Evils* of ſuch a *State*, will be as vigilant and induſtrious to keep it from getting footing among us again, as thoſe that are *otherwiſe*, can be to bring it on. Beſide that, you cannot have forgot, Sir, that from 1648. to 1653, they had it from the *Nurſe*, and (had they ſtuck to their *Pretences*) might in five years time (or never) have ſet it upon its *Feet*; only they too ſoon (poor wretches) found the *ſweets* of Uſurpation. But then it could never have been of any long *Continuance*, as manifeſtly appear'd

from the great ſcorn and bitterneſs that the *Supporters* of it were reproach'd with, when it was *diſſolv'd*; there was not ſo much as one *Bloody Noſe* in the defence of that, *High and Mighty State*; all the members of it being held in the utmoſt degree of *deteſtation*, as they moſt juſtly deſerved. And though theſe *Rumpers*, 'its true, came *twice* into play, yet were they only made uſe of to ſerve a *Turn*, as being fit to be made a *Property* of; for it was preſently found that it was not the deſire of *their Rule*, but of a *further change*, that inſpirited the *People* againſt the *Army*; and they (being next at hand) had no ſooner remounted the *empty Saddle*, but (before they could be well warm in their *Seat*) they were again *Unhors'd* with a *Publick Leave*, as appear'd by the *Bonefires* (upon *That* Occaſion) that might have lighted them to the *Lands-end*, if they had dar'd to be ſeen among them. So that it is plain from what has been ſaid, that it is not the *ſenſe* or *Intereſt* of a *Few*, that can long ſway a *Nation*; for if the *publick Spirit* be averſe, at the *long run* it will prevail; the more Diſpute there is with it, the more perverſe it grows. And whatever ſuch *Enthuſiaſts* may dream, even when the *Multitude* have the *Power*, the *Command* yet reſts in a *Few*: The moſt *active Spirits* lead the *Herd*, and ingroſs the *Place*, the *Profit*, and the *Sway*: This, in generous minds, begets, *Diſdain*, and *that*, *Faction*; for when *all* are *equal*, thouſands think themſelves as deſerving of *Rule*, as thoſe that carry it; to ſatisfie *all* is impoſſible, to pleaſe *few* diſpleaſes the *Moſt*: The Tranſactions of *that Party* from 1648. to 1660. have made this as *ſenſible*, as they rendred themſelves *contemptible*. In a word, the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* have *Spirits* pure, naturally juſt and generous, like *Fire* aſpiring (as a Pyramide) from *low* to *high*; and never reſting till it contracts it ſelf into an *Unity* at *top*: So *God* is *One*, or he were not *God*, nor could he Rule the World; and if your Friend likes not *this Preſident*, but ſtill continues to delight in the Rule of

Many,

Many, let him begin a *Pattern* in his own *Family*, and he may *there*, poſſibly, have enough to do.

§. 3. NOW my hand's in, I ſhall venture to ſet one ſtep further, and refreſh your memory with a *View* of our *Condition* whilſt this *Free-State* kept *above Water*, the *Paſt* being the ſureſt Clew to direct us in our *Conjectures* upon *Futurities*. In thoſe days we were never free (you may remember) from the apprehenſions of an *Inſurrection* at *Home*, or an *Invaſion* from *Abroad*; living in continual *Jealouſies* even of our very next *Neighbours*. Theſe *Fears* obliged us to maintain a conſiderable *Force* at *Land* and *Sea*, which, lying idle, corrupted, as *ſtanding Water* in a *Pool*, and every moment threatned freſh *Combuſtions*, as they were blown up this or that way by their new *Maſters*; but at the beſt (like our old Lord-*Danes*) they were moſt inſupportably burthenſom and odious to the *Country*, by their *Quartering*; and to keep them as much in *action* as poſſibly we could, we were fain either to be perpetually amuſing them with pretended Diſcoveries of ſome *new feigned Plot* or other, or elſe to engage them in *Foreign Wars*. For the ſupport of this Army (now) we were compelled to daily *Contributions*, beſides great and innumerable *Cuſtoms* that were exacted; together with the *Exciſe*, (a *Brat* begotten in the *Low Countries*, with their *State*, which makes them *free* indeed, but then it is in in *Purſe*, not in *Privilege*) a Tribute which no King of *England* did always demand, before they enforc'd us to pay it; which being ever before look'd upon as *Poyſon*, we then took as *Phyſick*; and for the bare, but neceſſary *mention* whereof, in the *Houſe of Commons*, that *Grand Patriot* (as they ſtiled him) Mr. *Pym*, was by a young Spirit (not without great Applauſe) call'd to the *Bar*: Add hereunto the *Benevolences*, *Sequeſtrations*, *five and twentieth parts*, a *Tax* of *fifty Subſidies* at once, (though the late King ſuffered ſo much by the demand of *twelve* only) *Fines* and

Compoſitions,

Compoſitions, ſale of *Kings*, *Biſhops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, and *Delinquents Lands*, the *two parts* of *Papiſts Eſtates*, nay a ſhare of our very *Charities* to the diſtreſſed; and all this over and above the ordinary and conſtant aſſeſſments that were levied. How was it all devoured by this *Army*, whoſe belly indeed was bottomleſs? and yet what *Arrears* did we owe them juſt before the King's Return? Three millions at leaſt! Reform it we durſt not, and our conſtant *charge* to maintain it could not be leſs than two *Millions yearly*. In a word, we never uſed to be in a worſe condition, than when free from Rebellions, becauſe when the people were quiet, we had no *Lands* either to *ſequeſter* or to *ſell*. Our *Trade* fell to nothing, our *Traffick* was interrupted, our *Gold* walk'd *beyond Sea* more freely than in our *own Country*; and we loſt no leſs than 2000 Sail of *Ships* in two or three years time: There was no *ſettlement*, but we were every day dancing after a *new Whiſtle*; *ten Models* we had in propoſal at one time, and every *Faction* ready with *Blood* to aver his own *way* to be the beſt. By our known *Laws* we could not be impriſon'd, but by a Regular proceeding in a *Courſe* of *Juſtice*; but under our *free Eſtate* (on the other ſide) upon the moſt ſlight ſuggeſtions of a ſpiteful *Neighbour* in Authority, we were preſently ſeiz'd by the *Serjeant at Arms*, with his exorbitant Fees! No *Bail*, no *Habeas Corpus*, no regular way of *Juſtice* to do us right! but, after a *Twelvemonths* ſtay in *Goal*, if we could make good *Friends*, and *humble* our ſelves to our potent *Adverſary*, we might poſſibly be diſcharg'd; but without *amends*, or knowing of our *Crime*. Lo thus, while we cajol'd our ſelves with the *Name* of *Freedom*, we loſt the *Thing*; and became *free*, only to be made the moſt deſpicable of *Slaves*.

By this, Sir, you ſee that the *Queſtion* in hand might be decided in a few words; and only by alledging the invincible *Inclination* of the Engliſh to *Monarchy*, as it is now eſtabliſhed: For as no man can well be wrong'd with his

conſent;

conſent, ſo neither is any man to be oblig'd (were there any ſuch thing in the caſe) againſt his *Will*. And indeed how ſhould a *Government*, founded upon *inequality* and *force*, ever ſubſiſt *without* it? Or a *State* that muſt neceſſarily be the meer *Adjective* of an *Army*, become a *Subſtantive*? With as much *Reaſon* might I alſo object matter of *Title*, becauſe the *ſame* Eſtate, with a *flaw* in the *conveyance*, or clogg'd with *Statutes* and *Judgments*, is not ſurely of like *value*, as if it had been deſcended clearly from the *great Grandfather*, and were free from *Claims* and *Incumbrances*. But it ſhall be the next part of my buſineſs, with all convenient brevity, to ſhew that the *preſent eſtabliſh'd Government*, as it excellently complies with the *Laws*, *Genius*, and *Intereſt* of this *Nation*, ſo it comprehends all the *Benefits* of a *Commonwealth* in great perfection.

To demonſtrate how it complies with our *Laws* and *Conſtitutions*, let it ſuffice, That (*Monarchy*, in theſe *Nations*, being more ancient than *Story* or *Records*, more venerable than *Tradition* it ſelf) our *Laws* were born (as it were) under this *Climate*, habituated to this *Diet* and *Air*, grafted into this *Stock*; and though we have (thanks be to God) forgotten our *Norman*, yet will it be very hard for us to learn *Greek*, much leſs *Utopian*; That in the late *Uſurper*'s time, our *Lawyers*, with one Voice, importun'd him rather to aſſume the *Style* and *Power* of a *King*, to which they found all our *Laws* were ſhaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the *Law*: That nothing rendred the late *Architects* of a *Commonwealth* more obnoxious, than that (notwithſtanding their infinite *Diſcords* in other things) they generally agreed in the *neceſſity* of ſubverting all our *Fundamental Laws*, in order to their *Deſign*: Which Conſideration (we are in *Charity* to believe) obliged the ſober men of all Parties, the true *Patriots*, (nay and even the chiefeſt *Pillars* of the *Parliaments*-*Cauſe* too) to unite themſelves with the *Royal Intereſt*; as not enduring,

ring to hear of thoſe violent and dangerous *Alterations* which they plainly ſaw a *Republick* muſt neceſſarily introduce.

For its ſuiting with our *Genius*, examine we (in the firſt place) the various *Revolutions* that have happened to this *Iſland*; *Britains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; or (more *nearly*) the *changes* in their *Deſcents* from the *direct Line* to the *Collateral*; or (yet *nearer*) the *times* of *Inſurrection* and *depoſing Kings*; *Edward* and *Richard*, (both the *Seconds* of the *Name*) and we ſhall find *King-ſhip* ever to have been in faſhion. Nay, *that* of King *John* is more *notorious*, for when the People had in a ſort *dethron'd* him, and ſworn *Allegiance* to *Lewis* of *France*, yet when *John* died, the ſame *People* not only *Expelled* the *Foreigner*, but having got the *Power* into their own hands, they *Crowned* King *John*'s Son, being then an *Infant* without *Intereſt* or *Adherents*: Nor will all our *Chronicles* afford us one ſingle *Inſtance* of any *Deſign* or *Endeavour* to erect a *Free Eſtate*; (before the late *unnatural times* furniſh'd the *Preſident*) no not when *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Straw* revell'd it with their *Clowns*. Neither is this *Genius* ever to be *chang'd*; for reflect we (in the *ſecond* place) that as our *Engliſh Nature* is not like the *French*, ſupple to *Oppreſſion*, and apt to delight in that *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of their *Lords*, which (they know) is ſupported with their *Slavery* and *Hunger*; Nor like the *Highland Scots*, where the *Honour* and *Intereſt* of the *Chief* is the *Glory* of the whole *Clan*: So doth it as little (or leſs) agree with the *Dutch* humour, addicted only to *Traffick*, *Navigation*, *Handicrafts*, and ſordid *Thrift*, and (in defiance of *Heraldry*) every man fancying his own *Scutcheon*. For does not every one amongſt us, that has the *Name* of a *Gentleman*, labour his utmoſt to uphold it? He that has *not*, to raiſe one? To this end, do not our very *Yeomen* commonly leave their *Lands* to the *Eldeſt* Son, and to the *other* nothing but a *Flail*, or a *Plow*? Did not every one (in the days of our late bleſſed *Martyr*) pinch himſelf

himſelf in his Condition, to purchaſe a *Knight-hood* or ſmall *Patent?* What need further proof? You cannot but remember, Sir, how that bare *glimpſe* and *ſhadow* of *Monarchy* under *Cromwel*, and his Son *Dick*, (though perſons even at the ſame time *hated* and *ſcorn'd*; and that too upon a moſt impious and ſcandalous account) was, for meer reſemblance ſake, admitted as *tolerable*, and (in reſpect of a *Commonwealth*) *courted*: Which clearly evinces, how grateful the *ſubſtance* muſt needs be to all *true Engliſh Spirits*.

As to our *Intereſt*, briefly, (to wave *tedious* and *politick Diſcourſes*) there is no man, but with half an eye may foreſee that a *Republick* (were there any poſſibility of ſetling one) would deſtroy all our preſent *Peace* and *Felicity*, ruinate our *Trade* and *Traffick*, involve us in a *Field* of *Blood*, alarm all our *Neighbours*, make our beſt *Allies* our bittereſt *Enemies*, and probably draw upon us the united force of *Chriſtendom*, to cruſh the *Embryo*; which would be the utter *deſtruction* and *enſlaving* of this moſt *free* and *proſperous Nation*, (could it but once be capable of a due *ſenſe* of its own *Felicity*) to the *Tyrannical Domination* of a *Foreigner*. Beſide, (at beſt) by what *Title* can we pretend to hold *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhould that of *Deſcent* be avoided; for *Conſent* there is none, nor can any be expected?

§. 5. BUT I come now directly to aſſert, That the *Preſent Government* eminently includes all the *Perfections* of a *Free-Eſtate*, and is the *Kernel* (as it were) of a *Commonwealth* in the *Shell* of *Monarchy*. To begin with the *Eſſential Parts* of a *Commonwealth*: If ever there were a *Free* and *Honourable Senate* (or *Parliament*) under the Cope of *Heaven* it is here; where the *Deputies* of the *whole Nation* moſt *freely* choſen, do with like *freedom* meet, Propound, Debate, and Vote all matters of *Common Intereſt*: No *Danger* eſcapes their Repreſenting, no *Grievance* their

Complaint, no *Publick Right* their Claim, or *Good* their demand; in all which, the leaſt breach of *Privilege* is uſually branded with *Sacrilege*: And though there lyes no *Appeal* to the *diſperſed Body* of the *People*, (a *Deciſion* manifeſtly impracticable in *Government*, and fitter indeed for *Tribunes* to move, than *Nations* to admit) yet (*Elections* being ſo *popular*, and *Conventions frequent*) the *ſame end* is attained with much more *ſafety* and *convenience*. As to the *Executive Part* of the Prince's *Power*, he exerciſes it by *Miniſters* and *Officers*, not only *ſworn*, but ſeverely *accomptable*: And though both *He* and the *Lords* have their *Negatives* in paſſing of Bills, and it be the *King only*, that by his *Royal Fiat*, makes our *Laws*; yet no *Tax* being impoſable but by the *conſent* of the *Commons*, nor any *Law* (without it) of ſuch *validity*, that the *Miniſters* of *Juſtice* will enforce it, there is a *wiſe* and *ſweet neceſſity* for the *King*, and likewiſe for the *Lords*, to paſs all ſuch Bills as are convenient for the *People*, and not greatly *hurtful* to the *Prince*. And thoſe that duly weigh the *Reaſon* of *things*, do find a *Negative* in the *King* to be a moſt ſafe *preſervative* of *Peace* to the People, who have as much *comfort* under the protection of his *Prerogative*, as they have *Benefit* by their own Privileges; For in truth, this *Bug-bear Negative* (as our *Republicans* labour to repreſent it) is an impenetrable *Target*, to ſhelter and ſecure the Government from being alter'd at the *Will* of the *Commons*, if at any time they ſhould again prove factious. This (being in *reaſon* manifeſt) has alſo been confirm'd by great Experience; our *Kings* having rarely obſtructed any *Bill* which they might ſafely grant; but on the other ſide, paſs'd many *High Acts* of *meer Grace*; circumſcribing their *Prerogative*, and clipping its *Wings*; nay better had it been for us, if they had not pierc'd its very *Bowels*.

This is that *Triple-Cord* that could never yet be *broken*, though it has been *Cut aſunder*; This is our *Gold ſeven times Refin'd*; for every *Bill*, being *thrice* Read, Debated, and Agreed

Agreed in *Either Houſe*, is at laſt brought to the *King* for his *Royal Aſſent*; (which is the *Mint* of our *Laws*:) a *Tryal* ſo exact, that ſurely no *Droſs* can eſcape it; ſince all *Intereſts* muſt thereto concur; as truly it is but fit they ſhould, in the Eſtabliſhment of *That* which muſt *Bind all*. This is that *Temperament*, which purges our *Humors*, and (at once) endues us with *Health*, *Vigour*, and *Beauty*: No *Vote* is here precipitated; no *Act* huddled up; as by ſad *Events*, you ſaw they formerly us'd to be, when the *Power* was engroſſed by a pretended Houſe of *Commons*, purg'd and moulded to the *Intereſts* of a *Faction*; a *Conſequence* but Natural to ſuch *Premiſes!* Nothing was *(there)* weigh'd, but as in a Ballance conſiſting of one Scale; our *Laws* were *Mandrakes* of a *Nights Growth*; and our *Times* as *Fickle* as the *Weather* of the *Multitude*.

The *King* has the *Power of making War*, but then he cannot well be ſaid to have the *Means*; ſo that it does not amount to extraordinary much more, than a *Liberty* to *Fly* if he can get *Wings*. He has a *Sword* alſo; but *Himſelf* alone very rarely draws it: And though he has the ſole right in the *Militia*, yet is he pleaſed to wear it only as a decent Weapon; Vouchſafing to the Nation, in a large Degree, the *Uſe* and *Benefit* of it. He chuſes his *Miniſters*; (as who doth not his *Servants?*) but then they paſs through ſuch a *Teſt*, as none but the ſoundeſt *Integrity* can abide. He can hinder the ſtroke of *Juſtice* with his *Pardon*, (tho' ſtill, the *Laws* not being *muzzled*, it will *Bite* terribly) but then (on the *Other* ſide) the means of *Relieving* his *Wants* reſts in the *Commons*, to Ballance his *Will*, and induce him to a *Correſpondence* with *Parliaments*.

That his *Perſon* ſhould be *Sacred*, is moſt *Needful*, to avoid *Circulation* of *Accounts*; *Reaſonable*, ſince it carries with it the *Conſent* of *Nations*; *Juſt*, that he become not the meer *Butt* of *Faction*, and *Malice*, and be in a worſe *Condition* than the *Baſeſt* of *Vaſſals*; *Honourable*, that the *Nakedneſs* of *Government* be not daily *Uncover'd*; *Wiſe*,

in the *Conſtitution* that ſo we may not (at *once*) both *Truſt*, and *Provoke*, by forcing him to ſhift for his *Own Indempnity*; no danger to the *Publick* ſeeming ſo *Extreme*, as the *Outlawry* of a *Prince*; no *Task* (by daily *Experience*) ſo difficult, as the *Arraigning* of any *Power*, whether *Regal* or *Popular*: And if we make *Golden Bridges* for *Flying Enemies*, much more ſhould we afford them to *Relenting Sovereigns*, againſt whom we have no remedy but Prayers and Patience. Upon this account, in our Neighbour *Kingdom* of *France*, even *Princes of the Blood* are not ſubjected to *Capital Puniſhments*. *Finally*, very *ſafe* it is in the Conſequence; for ſhould a *King* be never ſo *wicked* and *Tyrannical*, yet being (by the danger threatning his Corrupt *Miniſters*) ſtript of *Agents*, his *Perſonal Impunity* might ſignifie ſomething to *Himſelf*, perhaps, but nothing to the *People*.

A *Revenue* he has, for the ſupport of his *State* and *Family*, *Ample*; for the *Ordinary Protection* of his *People*, *Sufficient*; but for any conſiderable *Undertaking*, *Defective*; and for *Publick Oppreſſion* ſo *Inconſiderable*, that when *Prerogative* was moſt *Rampant*, our *Greateſt Princes* (and ſome doubtleſs we have had, the moſt Renowned *Warriours* of their *Age*) could never, prudently, aſpire to make themſelves *Abſolute*. The *Royal Revenue* is proportioned to the Maintenance of *Courts*, not *Camps*, and *Fleets*: In fine, it is very *Competent* for *Ordinary Diſburſements*, and as for *Extraordinary* he reſorts to *Parliaments*; the *Wiſer* He, and the *Happier* We! Now there is nothing more *Demonſtrative*, than that, upon Examination, we may find the *preſent Government* to be (compared with all the other *Models* of the *Late Times*) a mighty *Eaſe* to the *Publique Charge*; we allow'd the *Tyrant Cromwell* no leſs then a conſtant *Revenue* of 1900000 *l.* to ſupport him in his *Uſurpation*; and yet That Sum (beſide all his other intollerable *Squeezings*) at the years end, clear'd not the Account by far. Under the *Rump* a great deal more was yearly

ly Collected out of the *Bowels* of the People, to maintain the *Army*; and yet for all that we could never be at quiet, but were perpetually embroyl'd in *Wars* either *Abroad* or at *Home*, by our *active Spirits*, *ſome* to feed their *Ambition*, *others* their *Purſes*: And ſuch a *Spirit* we read of, working in all *Free-States*, *Ancient* and *Modern*. What ſhall we ſay now of the *Expences* of the *Late King*, if examin'd by This *Standard*? His *Revenue* in *Lands*, *Perquiſites*, and *Cuſtoms*, exceeded not 700000 *l.* a year; and yet by the good management of that moſt *Thrifty* and *Temperate* Prince, that *petite Annuity* furniſh'd a *glorious Court*, a *Noble Equipage* for the Honour of the *Nation*, and paid off a conſiderable *Fleet*; which never was much improved, afterwards, by all our vaſt *Payments*, when we were ſo unfortunate as to fall into *Others* hands. Nay and our *preſent Charge* is rather a *Sport*, than a *Burthen*, compared with their *Monthly Tax*.

True it is, that while we live with *Men*, we ſhall be ſubject to *That* which is the Effect of their *Nature*, *Sin*; nor is it poſſible to reap the more *General Fruit* of the beſt Eſtabliſh'd *Policy*, unleſs we ſubmit to ſome poſſible *Inconveniences*. But yet I defie your *Friend*, and all other *Projectors* of *Common-wealths*, to contrive greater Freedom for their *Citizens*, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and *The Petition* of *Right*; or ſhew that it is not much eaſier to *Violate*, than to *Mend* them; for *Thereby*, our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates are, under *Monarchy*, ſecur'd and eſtabliſh'd as well (I think) as any thing, on this ſide *Heaven*, can be. It is no *Solœciſm* to ſay, that the *Subject* has his *Priviledges*, as well as the King; and no *Prince* ever attempted any Violation of them, but at the *Long Run*, he ſuffer'd in that point of his *Prerogative* that let in the *Opportunity*. Hence it is that the *Rights* of the *People* have grown ſtronger and ſtronger againſt the *Prince*, and *ſometimes* have hurried his *Perſon* to be a Sacrifice; *always*, his *Inſtruments*; whereof few, in our *Hiſtory*, can we read, that, Deſigning againſt the *Law*, have died in *peace*. If, poſſibly,

poſſibly, *One Prince* (as King *Harry*) by his *High Spirit*, ſweep all before him, yet his *Infant Succeſſor* is fain to make amends for his Fathers *Violations*: So that *Liberty* (we ſee) is no leſs *Sacred*, than *Majeſty*; *Nolime tangere* being its *Motto* likewiſe: And in caſe of any, the leaſt *Infringement*, (as *Eſcapes* in *Government* may happen, even in the moſt *perfect*) it is reſented as if the *Nation* had received a *Box on the Ear*. If it be (as they ſay) the *Glory* of a *Free-State*, to *Exalt*; the *Scandal* of *Tyranny*, to *Embaſe* our *Spirits*; doubtleſs the *Eſtabliſh'd Form* is our *Only Common-wealth*; for all that we got by the *Change* of it, was but the learning quietly to take the *Baſtinade*. Nay, and at the very *worſt* that can be imagin'd, it is much more *Eaſie* (were it *Lawful*) for us to diſpute our *Rights* with a *ſingle Prince*, and his *Trembling Agents*; than (as it was our *Caſe* formerly) with a *Knot* of *Sovereigns* that are backt with the *Sword*.

We are now again able to diſtinguiſh (which we could never do under their *Free-Eſtate*, for all the fair Promiſes they made us) the *Legiſlative*, and the *Miniſterial Authority*: For tho' *both* of them are Inherent in the *King*, yet are not both of them his own peculiar and Perſonal *Act*. We know that the *Houſe* of *Commons* has not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an *Oath*, nor of a *Juſtice of the Peace*, to make a *Mittimus*: And this *Diſtinction*, doubtleſs, is the moſt *Vital part* of *Freedom*, and far more conſiderable to poor *Subjects*, than all theſe mens pretended *Rotations*; as, on the *contrary*, the abſolute *Fumbling* and *Confounding* of them, is an Accompliſhment of *Servitude*; for which all Republicks, I fear, (and our late one more eſpecially) have more to Anſwer, than any *Limited Sovereign* can have. And certain it is, that as our *Prince*, in his *Perſonal Capacity*, *makes* no *Laws*; ſo neither does he, by *himſelf*, *Execute* or *Interpret* any: No *Judge* takes notice of his *ſingle Command*, to juſtifie any *Treſpaſs*; no not ſo much as the breaking of a *Hedg*;

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his *Power* is Circumſcribed by his *Juſtice*; he is (equally with the meaneſt of his *Subjects*) concern'd in that *Honeſt Maxim*; *We may do juſt ſo much, and no more, than we have* Right *to do.* And it is tolerably enough ſaid, with reſpect to his Political Capacity, *He can do no wrong*, becauſe, if it be *wrong*, he does it not; it is *void* in the *Act*, and *puniſhable* in his *Agent*. His *Officers*, as they are alike lyable, ſo, perhaps, they are more *Obnoxious* to *Indictments* and *Suits*, than any *other*; by how much their *Treſpaſs* ſeems to be of a *Higher Nature*, and gives greater *Alarm*: His *Private Will* does not Countermand his *Publick*; his *Privy Seal* ſtill buckles to his *Great Seal*, as being (in a ſenſe) the *Nations*, as well as *His*; His *Order* ſupercedes no *Proceſs*; and His *Diſpleaſure* threatens no man with an hours *Impriſonment*, after the *Return* of *Habeas Corpus*: An *Under Sheriff* is more Terrible, a *Conſtable* more Sawcy, a *Bayliff* more Troubleſom than *He*: And yet by his *Gentle Authority*, by this *Scabbard* of *Prerogative* (as ſome in deriſion have lewdly term'd it) which (if it *Would*) *Could* ſcarce Oppreſs an *Orphan*; *Tumults* are Curb'd, *Faction* Moderated, *Uſurpation* foreſtall'd, *Intervals* Prevented, *Perpetuities* Obviated, *Equity* Adminiſtred, *Clemency* Exalted, and the *People* made *Happy* to a degree even of *Satiety* and *Wantonneſs*.

To Conclude this *Point*: What ſhall I add more? The *Act* enjoyning the *Keepers* of the *Great Seal*, under pain of *High Treaſon*, to *Summon* a *Triennial Parliament*, of Courſe, by Virtue of the *Act*, without *further Warrant*; The *Act* forbidding the *Privy-Council* to intermeddle with *Meum & Tuum*; the Law aboliſhing the *Star Chamber*, *High Commiſſion*, &c. Branding all *paſt*, and Bridling all *future enormities*: The *Statutes* limiting the *King's Claims*, the Acts about Quartering of Soldiers, and *Habeas Corpus*; beſide many other principal *Immunities*, wherewith (by the Eſpecial *Favour* of *God*, and the *Bounty* of our *Princes*) we are *Bleſſed*, far beyond any of our *Neighbours*: Above all,

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our *Aſſurance* (by the *Goodneſs* and *Clemency* of our preſent *Dread Sovereign*) readily to obtain ſuch further *Addition* and *perfection* of *Liberty* and *Security*, (if any ſuch there can be) as may conſiſt with *Modeſty* and *Liberty* it ſelf, to ask: Does not all this Proclaim aloud, that we are the *Mirrour* of *Governments*, *Envy* of *Monarchies*, and *Shame* of *Common-wealths*; who cannot but bluſh to ſee themſelves ſo Eclipſed and Silenc'd, in all their *Pretences* to *Freedom*? And does it not more than juſtifie my *Aſſertion*, that *with all the* Ornaments *of the* Nobleſt Kingdom, *we have, likewiſe, all the Enjoyments of* a Free-Eſtate.

§. 6. HAVING thus given you the *Reaſons* why I conceive, the Project of fixing the *Model*, which your Friend terms a *Free-Eſtate*, here among us, would be *Impractiacble*; preſented you with a Proſpect of the miſchiefs and Diſtractions that were the *Conſequents* of a like attempt from Forty to Sixty; Aſſerted the natural *Print* and *Inclination* of the *Engliſh* to *Monarchy*, excluſively of any other Form of *Regiment* whatſoever; Anatomiz'd the *Royal Prerogative*, and Sum'd up the great Immunities, Bleſſings and Privileges which we do peculiarly, and above any other People or Nation in the known World, at this day enjoy, under the eſtabliſhed *Government Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*: I ſhall now apply my ſelf directly to touch upon the *Second Branch* of your *Commands*; I mean the *Affair* of the *Black-Box*, and the *Deſign* of *Interrupting* and *Inverting* the *Legal Succeſſion* of the *Crown* of theſe *Kingdoms*.

You would not (I know Sir) have impoſed a *Trouble* of *This* nature, either upon your ſelf, or *Me*, had you been Ignorant, or Inſenſible of the Active and Inveterate *Malice* of ſome Turbulent, Evil-minded Perſons (Profeſs'd Enemies to all *Civil Rule* and *Order*) who perceiving the Eye of *Authority*, neceſſitated to abate of its uſual Strickneſs over them, upon the Diſcovery of the *Hel-*

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liſh Plot now in Agitation, and Deſigning not to let ſlip ſo Eminent an *Occaſion* of expreſſing their *Malevolence* to the *Government*, and of emproving the juſt *Odium* the *Papiſts* at preſent lye under, into ſome degree of *Reputation* to their own *Party*, both at once; have mightily endeavoured and beſtir'd themſelves, by falſe *Reports*, forged *Tales*, and *Diſcoveries*, Invidious *Miſ-repreſentations* of the moſt ſolemn Acts and *Reſolutions* of *State*, Virulent and Audacious *Pamphlets* of all *Sorts*, both *Printed* and *Written*, and by a Thouſand other *Tricks* and *Inventions*, of the like quality, wherewith the *Father* of *Lyes* and *Slanders* has from time to time ſuppli'd them, to ſow Seeds of *Diſcord* and *Animoſity* in all Families as well publick as *Private*, raiſe Storms of *Fealouſy* and *Diſcontent*, Alienate the minds and Affections of the People from their *Sovereign*, Principle them into *Diſloyalty*, Poyſon them in their *Allegiance*, and to divide them into *Parties* and *Factions*: And all this too under the Plauſible Cover of zeal againſt *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Encroachments*; but with a *Direct* (though *Covert*) *Aim* at the Subverſion of the moſt Excellent Form of *Polity* by Law eſtabliſht among us, to make way for the Introduction of certain Licentious and Phantaſtick *Whimſies* of their own. But finding now by Experience that from all theſe undue Practices and Pretences (how plauſible ſoever) they could promiſe to themſelves little or no Aſſiſtance toward the compaſſing of the Treaſonous *Ends* aforeſaid; and taking advantage of Apprehenſions, and Bitterneſs of the *Multitude* againſt the *Preſumptive Heir*, upon his being, by theſe *Incendiaries*, repreſented as a *Principal* in the Conſpiracy; They, laying their Heads together again, reſolv'd to change their *Battery*; and wholly apply themſelves to the *Altering* of the Legal Succeſſion of the *Crown*: Thus providently Computing upon it, that could they but once of an *Hereditary* turn *This* into an *Elective Kingdom*, and get a *Prince* of the *Peoples Chuſing*, 'twas but picking a

Quarrel with him, (and what's more eaſie than to find a *Hole* in another mans Coat?) Dethroning him, and then their *Work* were done, their *Model* would fall in of Courſe. To this end now, with dark *Hints*, and ſecret *Whiſpers*, they bore their Credulous *Proſelites* in hand, as if the K. had *Legitimate Iſſue*: Not intending yet, that *this* Report ſhould forthwith become *Publick*; but to keep it in *Reſerve* till they might gain their Point by't, and then blow it down again with the ſame facility as they had raiſed it. But the *Flam* Squaring ſo exactly with the then Predominant *Humour* of the Rabble, not only went down without Chewing, but alſo ſpred it ſelf ſo much beyond expectation, that the *Authors* of it ſoon found themſelves obliged to gratifie the Curioſity of ſome prying men of the *Faction* with the Grounds and Reaſons of this their Belief. They had their Story at their Fingers-ends; Suggeſted a *Marriage* (or *Contract* at leaſt) between the K. and Mrs. *W.* while Beyond-Sea, and that the late B. of *D.* had Conſigned a writing (in a *Black-Box*) into the Cuſtody of Sir *G. G.* that had been produced before ſeveral Perſons, and imported as much as all *This* came to. This impudent *Pretext* met with Credit from ſuch as were prepared to entertain what they ſo earneſtly deſired ſhould be true; and paſſing from an effect of meer *Spight* in ſome *few*, to a Subject of Looſe and Idle *Diſcourſe* in a great *many*, at length reacht the *Court*: So that Authority (though knowing full well that it was Impoſſible that any thing of *This* ſhould be real, yet) Searching with much Strictneſs of enquiry into the matter, ſoon detected the *whole* to be a moſt *Villanous Impoſture*; to the great Satisfaction of all honeſt and Peaceable men, and no leſs Confuſion of ſuch as had ſuffered themſelves ſo eaſily to be Impoſed upon. The *Principals*, in the mean time, growing Deſperate, upon ſeeing that not only their wicked Intents were thus diſcovered and defeated, but alſo that their Credits, *Fleſh* and all, lay at Stake;

ſtake; their *Familiar* help'd them out at this *dead Lift*, and prompted to the repreſenting the Buſineſs to the Multitude, as a Contrivance of the *Papiſts*, (who (believe me) have faults enough of their *own* to anſwer for, without ſtanding accountable for thoſe of other people) to diſcredit a *juſt Claim*.

Now they were too crafty, not to foreſee that ſuch an undertaking were to give themſelves the Lye, in the face of the Sun; and not to be ſet upon, but by, firſt, trampling under foot all Senſe and Obligations of *Truth*, *Conſcience*, *Honour*, *common Shame*, and *Allegiance*; but to ſuch *Proficients* in *Wickedneſs*, theſe Conſiderations were rather an *Encouragement* than a *Diſſwaſive*; ſo that they took the *Task* in hand, and performed it (under the Notion of *A Letter to a Perſon of Honour, concerning the affairs of the Black Box.*) to the horror and aſtoniſhment of *Chriſtianity*, nay of *Humane Nature* it ſelf. For, purſuing the *Subject* of their late *Appeal from the Country to the City*, (though improving and ſupplying it with freſh additions of twenty times lewder *Tenets* than the former) they inſerted little leſs than downright *Treaſon* into five of the ſeven Printed Pages, in which that pretended *Letter* is contained; and ſtufft every *Paragraph* of it with all the Falſhood, Sedition, Slander, Inſolence, Contumely, and Detraction, imaginable: Only in this they have overſhot themſelves, that they have daub'd on the Colours ſo abominably *Thick* and *Unskilfully*, and *Reaſon'd* after ſo extravagant a manner, (every ſubſequent Period of it being a ſort of *Confutation* of the Precedent) that there is no great danger of any ſober mans being ſeduced into a favourable *Opinion* of ſo palpable a *Cheat*. They aſſert a *Coordination* of *Government*, cry up the *Sovereign Power* of the *People*, inſinuate the *King* to be *accountable* to his *Subjects*, repreſent him capable of *Self-Depoſition*, ſpeak contemptuouſly of his Sacred *Perſon*, bring him into the *Plot* againſt his own *Life*, Libel the *Privy Council*, at-

taint the *Blood Royal*,(a) even in the face of the moſt *ſolemn Evidence* to the contrary; and fling about their *Poyſon* (upon all *Conditions* and *Qualities*) at ſo horrid a rate, that it is enough to make a man *tremble*, the very *Thought* of it: Inſomuch, that did but that illuſtrious Perſon, of whom, with a *Brazon'd Front*, they preſume to make a *Stale*, for the better paſſing off their *Villany*, know *where*, or *what* they are, he has too great a ſenſe of *Honour*, *Duty*, and *Filial Tenderneſs*, not to be the *Firſt*, that ſhould hurry them into a *Court of Juſtice*. For as he has too much *Courage* to be frightned out of any thing that is his *Due*; ſo has he too much *Juſtice* alſo, to invade the *Property* of another: And ſince the King's *Declaration* (which by this time poſſibly may have come to your Hand, and which is ſince paſt into a Record) has fully determined upon the Right of *Succeſſion*, it is the Duty of every good *Chriſtian* and *Subject* to reſt ſatisfied, and lay aſide all *Contraſtations* upon *that* point. Now there is *Impiety* in the bare *Propoſition* of Erecting a *crackt Title*; beſide that in all probability we ſhould find ſuch a *Remedy* worſe than the *Diſeaſe* it ſelf: For thus, a Perſonal *Quarrel* would be ſet afoot, and at the *long run* the Spirits of this Generous People beyond meaſure *Diſguſted*, in that they muſt, *then*, be *ſubjected* to their *Equal*; who, to retain his *Uſurpation*, will be forc'd to Repeat and Accumulate thoſe *Violences*, whereof we had moſt woful experience under the *Old Protector*: *Otherwiſe*, he will ſoon be made the *Object* of our *Contempt*, (as was *Cromwel*'s Son, with his *Eaſie* and *Gentle* way of *Acting*) and his *Name* be uſed only as a *Cloak* to cover the *Avarice* and *Exorbitances* of a *Ravenous Faction*. Neither, in truth, could *this Project* prevent a *Relapſe* into our former *Calamities*, becauſe our *Fears* (in that caſe) will ever be great and continual, and, conſequently, our *Charge* proportionable. To be brief, all the *Evils* and *Miſeries* that were brought upon us by the

(a) See *Par.* 23, 24. and *Fol.* 64. of Dr. *Oates's Narrative of the Plot.* And *Ireland's Tryal*, *Fol.* 22.

the *Army*, the *Rump*, and all the other *Architects* of our *Slavery* in the late Times, will certainly be found *Tolerable*, compared with the *Genuine Effects* of ſo *Deſperate* and *Unwarrantable* a *Proceeding*.

§. 7. TO this *Probable* Account of the Buſineſs of the *Black-Box*, and Repreſentation of the miſchievous *Conſequences* of any attempt to Erect a *Crackt Title*, or Interrupt the *true Succeſſion of the Crown*, muſt (you ſay) be ſubjoyned, an enquiry into the principal *Colours* and *Artifices*, that theſe *Troublers of our Iſrael* make uſe of, to palliate and conceal from the *Dim-ſighted Mobile*, the *Poyſon* and *Diſloyalty* of their more ſecret *Projects* and *Machinations*. And truly (not knowing into what hands theſe Papers may fall) I ſhall not grutch my Pains in this particular; For although, as *Iſlanders* we cannot hope to be clear of all Tincture of levity; though we are ſo ingenious at ſtarting *Fears* and *Iealouſies* (being moſt Obſtinately Tenacious of our *Liberties*) as ſometimes to deprive our ſelves of the Fruition of the *Preſent* felicities, through too eager and Penſive, a Sollicitation for the *Future*; and ſo prone to be *Over-heated* upon the queſtion of *Religion*, as to be ſcarce Capable of avoiding a *Sylla*, without being violently hurri'd upon the *other Extreme* of Miſ-carrying in a *Charybdis*: Yet *are we* again generally ſo *Juſt*, *Loyal*, *Conſcientious*, *Sincere*, and *Reſolute* a People, as to fall upon Tearing any man in pieces (even though he had before, in his *Diſguiſe*, taken advantage of our Credulity) that ſhould preſume in *direct Terms*, to recommend the Changing of the *Eſtabliſht Government*, for any other *Model* of *Policy* whatſoever. And indeed *This* is a *Truth* too Notorious, ever to be put to the *Tryal*. But yet ſo *Houd-winkt* at this time, is our *Reaſon*; that the very *Umbrage* of the *Preſumptive Heirs* being of the *Red-Letter-Stamp*, is of it ſelf, (without any other *Sleights*) found Sufficient to create in us a firm *Belief*, that *Popery*, and *Tyranny* (the old

old *Stales*,) are breaking in upon us like a *Deluge*. So that with producing *Arguments*, to *Moderate* our *Apprehenſions* as to the *One*; to prove the almoſt *Impoſſibility* of Effecting the *Other*, were there never ſo great a Diſpoſition that way; and with an *Offer* at an *Expedient* of my *own*, in reference to the Security of our *Religion*, and *Freedoms*; I ſhall put a Period to this Tedious *Scrible*.

No man is more willing than my ſelf, to grant that the *Popiſh Religion* is little better than a *Compound* of meer *Secular Intereſt*, *Hypocriſie*, and *Superſtition*; and that the very *Principles* of the *Jeſuits* do inſpirit and Prompt them to the acting of Outragious *Violences*, upon the Perſons of thoſe that enjoy a greater *Light* and *Purity* of the *Goſpel*, than themſelves. But yet I muſt averr (on the other hand) that, Since, through the peculiar *Mercy* and *Providence* of God, and the Indefatigable Induſtry and Vigilance of *Authority*; all their *Machinations* have hitherto been defeated, and their *Conſpiracies* againſt *Church* and *State* rendred Abortive; it will become us both as *Men* and *Chriſtians*, to temper our *Paſſions*, and to reſt *ſatisfied* with the ſingular *Care* and *Concern*, that the Government vouchſafes continually to expreſs both for our *preſent* and *future ſafety* and *preſervation*, in all Reſpects. Full well I know, that nothing is of greater Concernment than the Security of that *Religion*, which, by the Blood of ſo many bleſſed and Glorious *Martyrs*, has (by Gods immediate bleſſing) been ſo firmly Eſtabliſh'd amongſt us. But then we are to take ſpecial heed too that we lend not over eaſie an *Ear* to ſuch as cry up *Religion*, and deſign *Faction*; as cry out *Zeal* for the *Lord of Hoſts*, when they intend only *Self Intereſt*; to keep up a *party*; an *Affected way*, or to be the *Ipſe dixit* of a *County*: *Religion* has not at all proſper'd by undue practices to advance it. 'Tis *Meekneſs*, *Patience*, *Humility*, and other the Graces of the *Spirit*, that *Convince* and *Convert*; when *Rigidneſs*, *Cenſuring*

ing and the *Sword Inflame* and *Harden*. Has not Gods *power*, or *truth*, *Evidence* to ſecure it ſelf? Let but the *Goſpel* have *Free-paſſage*, and it will make its own way: For all true *Proteſtants* do unanimouſly diſown the Promotion of it by the *Sword*, as totally *Unchriſtian*; and bequeath it to the *Pope*, and the *Turk*. Was not, now, the maintenance of our *Fundamental Laws* the pretence of our late *Quarrel*? Found we not the *Spirit* of the *Nation* rouz'd up, upon the ſound of a *Trumpet*? *Popery*, was it not *decry'd*, and *Religion*, *Proteſtant Religion*, judg'd to be in *danger*? Were we not call'd out to the *Battel*, upon the account of *Zeal*, with *Curſe ye Meroz*? And yet under our *Free-Eſtate* (as they termed it) our *Religion* (ſo much of it eſpecially as could be call'd *Proteſtant*) turn'd into *Wantonneſs*; and our *Diviſions* became ſo great, that we durſt not *exaſperate*, by advancing that *Idol* of the *Presbyters*, *Diſcipline*; nor indeed *could* we, if we *durſt*; for the moſt *active* of our *Statiſts*, If they had any *Religion* at all 'twas that of the *Sectary*, which they own'd as the main *Supporter* of their *Model*, whoſe *Intereſt* it was to give *Licentiouſneſs* to *all*. As for *Laws*, thoſe which we ador'd for *Excellency* and *Antiquity*, they were (by them) of neceſſity alter'd, in our *Freedoms* of *Perſon* and *Eſtate*, wherein true *Liberty* is principally concern'd: For when the *Houſe of Commons* (or rather the *Rump* of it) had engroſs'd the *Soveraign Power*; they both *Impoſed* Taxes, and *Levy'd* them, by *vertue* of a *trifling Ordinance*, which could never be done before, but by an Act of *Parliament*, ſolemnly and regularly paſs'd by the *King* and the *Three Eſtates*: And having of *Tribunes of the people*, (as it were) and their *Bulwark* againſt *High Payments*, and *Impreſſures*, demanded by the *King*, advanc'd themſelves into the degree of *Princes*; they took upon them to *aſſeſs* and *impreſs* us at pleaſure; and we might complain as long as we would of the *Reiterated Burthen*; but there was no *remedy* but Patience; becauſe no *Appeal* left us, themſelves being both *Parties* and *Judges*.

I could heartily wiſh there were at preſent no more reaſon to be apprehenſive of *Popery*, than there was in thoſe days: But yet, let his R. H's. *perſwaſion* be what it will, this I'm ſure of, that Dr. *Oates* has depoſed upon *Oath*, that the *Jeſuits* were ſo far from *ſaying* or *acting indifferently*, as to his *perſon*, that in their *Helliſh Plot*, they had mark'd him out alſo for *Slaughter*, with his moſt *Royal*, moſt *Proteſtant Brother*. Now the late *Marqueſs* of *Argyle* was wont to lay it down as a *Principle* in *Policy*, that it was the *Character of a wiſe man*, *not to let the World know what Religion he was of*: But (for my *own* part) I cannot in *Charity* but hope the beſt (as to Chriſtian tenderneſs and moderation in Religious concernments) of a *Perſon*, that has been ſo *Lectur'd* and *Tutor'd* by our late *Glorious Martyr*, (as well as by *Experience*) into a *Veneration* for, and a *perſeverance* in that *Pure*, *Reformed Religion*; the *Principles* of which he ſuck'd in with his very *Milk*, and in *Defence* of which his ever bleſſed *Father* laid down his moſt precious *Life* upon a *Scaffold*. You may read his words thus. 'I do require you, (*addreſſing to his pre-*'*ſent Majeſty*) as your *Father*, and your *King*, that you ne-'ver ſuffer your Heart to receive the leaſt *Check* againſt, or '*Diſaffection* from the *True Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church* '*of* England: I tell you I have tryed it, and after much '*Search*, and many *Diſputes*, have concluded it to be the *beſt* 'in the World, not only in the *Community*, as *Chriſtian*, 'but alſo in the *ſpecial Notion*, as *Reformed*; keeping the '*middle way* between the *pomp* of *Superſtitious Tyranny*, and 'the *meanneſs* of *Phantaſtick Anarchy*, &c. To this ſence, ſpake he, when he had no *more* to ſpeak.

As to the apprehenſions of *Tyranny*, I hope (by what I have already delivered in the *Body* of this *Diſcourſe*) it appears, that there is leſs ground to fear it, than many people might before imagine; for that it is next to an *Impoſſibility* to introduce it. And upon probable grounds, I perſwade my ſelf, that ſhould the *Duke* ever have the *occaſion* offer'd,

yet

yet would he be wiſer than to make tryal of the *Experiment*; knowing ſo well as he muſt needs do, that ſhould the *Engliſh Liberties* be violated in the example but of any one ſingle Perſon, all the tyes of Conſcience and Allegiance would hardly be ſufficient to reſtrain the Nation from holding it ſelf concern'd upon that account, and apprehend it ſelf ready for the *Fetters*; whereby, what with *Fear*, what with *Hate*, ſuch a ſtorm would be rais'd, as might ſhake the ſureſt *Foundations* of the *Government*; and ſo very much has *Majeſty* already ſuffer'd by the *Fury* of the *People*, that it has no reaſon to be over earneſt upon a freſh encounter of it.

But 'tis farther *Objected* (it ſeems) that there is a *Vindictive* and *Implacable Spirit* in the Caſe. Now this is moſt manifeſt (indeed) that there have been *provocations* to the *height*; but ſhall we therefore *continue* to *provoke*, becauſe we have *begun*? 'Tis a Rule (you know) that he that *does wrong, never* forgives, but he that *has wrong, may*. The Intereſt of *Revenge* is paſſionate, but the Intereſt of *Profit* ariſes from a *paſſion* that prevails more; and he is very *weak*, that antepoſes *Rumour* and *vain Paſſion*, when it ſtands in Competition with his *Safety*. To ſpeak home, *Intereſt* rules the whole World, and *Princes* (as *others*) do more intend the eſtabliſhing of their *own Greatneſs*, than a *petty Revenge* that may *hazard* it: But for this ſearch we the *Experiences* of *paſt Ages*. *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, was ſo far from *puniſhing* any of the *holy League*, that labour'd, by all means poſſible, to *keep* him from his *Right*, and to *murther* him, that (on the *contrary*) he imployed thoſe very Perſons that had been his *main Oppoſites*, in his *Armies*, in his *Offices*, and in his *Councils*. And what ſhall we ſay of King *James*, who ſent *Meſſages*, made *Vows*, menaced *Revenge*, and all to prevent that fatal *Stroke* from falling upon his *Mother*, (the *Queen* of *Scots*) under Queen *Eliz.* but to no effect. Obſerve the Iſſue now: Shortly Q. *Eliz.* dies, and thoſe very *Lords* that acted perſonally

in the *Mothers Death*, were the moſt forward to *court* the *Son* to the *Crown*, and he became eſtabliſhed with all *Prerogatives* incident to the *Engliſh Scepter*. What? Acts he in the way of *Revenge*? No; he, like a *wiſe Prince*, feeling the *warmth* of ſo *rich* a *Climate*, generouſly pardons the *injury* of his *Mother*, and we read not of ſo much as one of thoſe *Nobles*, or their *Iſſue*, that ſuffer'd *Diminution* by any Reſentment, upon *that* account. His *wiſe Father* alſo, that had been beaten into the knowledge of the *Engliſh Spirit*, writes thus: 'Let no Paſſion (my Son) be-'tray you to any ſtudy of *Revenge* upon thoſe whoſe own 'Sin and Folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time: 'Be confident that *moſt* of all *Sides* that have done *Amiſs*, 'have done ſo, not out of *Malice*, but *Miſ-information*, or 'Miſ-apprehenſion of Things. None will be more *Loyal* 'to *Me* or *You*, than thoſe Subjects, who, ſenſible of *Their* 'Errors, and *Our Injuries*, will feel, in their own *Souls*, 'moſt vehement *motions* to *Repentance*, and earneſt *deſires* 'to make ſome *Reparations* for their former *Defects*, &c. The like ſaid he at his *laſt hour*. But why do we *Doubt* or *Diſtruſt*? May we not have a *Proteſtant Parliament* upon all *Exigencies*? Have we not a *Proteſtant Council*, a *Proteſtant Militia*, a *Proteſtant Clergy*, and a *Proteſtant People*? what (in reaſon) can we deſire more, toward our future ſecurity?

§. 8. YOU will not expect from me (I'm ſure) that I ſhould ſo acquit my ſelf of every *Objection*, as to leave all men ſatisfied, eſpecially ſuch as carry a *Byaſs* of *Preferment*, *Profit*, or *Faction*: Men that have in deſign *Exorbitances* of *Power*, or *Wealth*, will hardly, with *Arguments*, be reclaimed: And ſome there are (I know) that have ſo long poſſeſſed their *Heads* with *ſtrong Notions*, that they are not capable to take in *Reaſon*, againſt them; and thereupon, run on *Frantick* in Error, till there be a *Rotation* in their *Brains*: Such there are, who with *Confidence*, ſo often have

have told a *Lye*, that, at length, themſelves come to believe it to be a *Truth*: But we ſhall be too wiſe (I hope, ſhould ever that day come) to prefer the *Intereſt* or *Wilfulneſs* of a *Few*, to the *Safety* and *Welfare* of the *Whole*. I ſhall not deny, yet, that it is eaſier to demonſtrate what *may be Evil*, than poſitively to aſſert what *will be Good*: but however comparing *Times* with *Things*, (as is above repreſented) I doubt not to Evidence, that to *keep where we are*, and to *be contented with our Lot*, is a Courſe much rather to be embrac'd, as that which, in great *probability may be Good*; than, by puſhing at *Incertainties*, to pull down moſt lamentable *Confuſions* and *Deſolations* upon our own *Heads*, which of neceſſity muſt *be Evil*. I therefore ever was, and ſtill am of opinion, that it is both our *Intereſt* and our *Duty* to embrace, with *Open Arms*, the late, ample, generous *Offers* of his moſt Gracious Majeſty, in order to Proviſions for our *future Security*, in point of *Freedom* and *Religion*: As for the *Reſt*, let us but have our *Good Old Laws* duly put in Execution; and then (by Gods aſſiſtance) we ſhall be in a *Capacity* to defie the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and all their *Works*, come what will come.

§. 9. Thus, Sir, have I run through the ſeveral *Heads* that you were pleaſed to propound: And if, by what I have written, I be ſo fortunate as to make your Friend a *Convert*, 'twill be an infinite ſatisfaction to me; becauſe, thereby I may hope to *ſave* a *Soul*; but, at the worſt, I may ſay with the Text, that *I ſhall hide a multitude of Sins*. Now ſhould I frame twenty *Excuſes* to you for the Length, the Inequality, the Inſufficiency, nay, and for the Boldneſs and Preſumption of this Diſcourſe; but I have neither Will nor Leiſure to *Trifle* at ſuch a rate: I am conſcious to my ſelf (no man more) of my great want of Abilities, requiſite for an *Undertaking* of ſuch Weight and Importance; only I was reſolv'd to let you ſee, that no *Conſiderations* whatſoever were of force (with me) to withſtand the Au-

thority of your *Commands*. I have unboſom'd my ſelf to you, Sir, (under the protection of a *Private Letter*) with all the Frankneſs and Simplicity imaginable; not doubting but you will make ſuch uſe of it, as ſhall not redound to the *Diſadvantage* of

SIR,

Your moſt Obedient Servant,

Some Books lately Publiſhed by James Vade, *at the Cock and Sugar-Loaf near* St. Dunſtan's Church *in* Fleetſtreet.

THe *Sovereign*, or a Political Diſcourſe upon the *Office* and *Obligations* of the *Supreme Magiſtrate*.

The True *Proteſtant Subject*; or the Nature and Rights of *Sovereignty* diſcuſſed and ſtated.

A Brief *Survey* (Hiſtorical and Political) of the Life and Reign of *Henry* the Third, King of *England*.

A *Seaſonable Memento*, both to King and People, upon this *Critical Juncture* of Affairs.

The *Myſtery* and *Method* of his Majeſties *Happy Reſtauration* laid open to Publick View: By *John Prince*, D.D. one of the late *Duke* of *Albemarle's Chaplains*, and Privy to all the *Secret Paſſages* and *Particularities* of that *Glorious Revolution*.

FINIS.